

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 223835

TOSEC 479

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 223835 SENT VIENNA INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
NOVEMBER 13 REPEATED PEKING NOVEMBER 13:

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 223835

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: PRESENTATION OF WESTERN FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL

1. WE AGREE WITH APPROACH RECOMMENDED IN VIENNA 9285
AND AUTHORIZE YOU TO CIRCULATE TO THE AD HOC GROUP THE
FOLLOWING REVISED TEXT OF THE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL.

2. BEGINNING WITH THE OPENING SESSION OF THESE
NEGOTIATIONS AND MORE PARTICULARLY IN THE SESSIONS OF
NOVEMBER 13 AND 15, MY COLLEAGUES AND I HAVE PRESENTED OUR
GENERAL PROPOSALS FOR THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES
AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.
WE DISCUSSED THE NATURE OF THE SECURITY PROBLEM IN CENTRAL
EUROPE AND THEN EXPLORED THE SOLUTIONS WE PROPOSE TO
VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THIS PROBLEM.

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3. TODAY, I WISH TO TIE TOGETHER THE STRANDS OF OUR

PREVIOUS PRESENTATION AND PRESENT OUR SPECIFIC PROPOSAL.

4. WE BELIEVE THIS PROPOSAL WILL CONTRIBUTE IN A SIGNIFICANT WAY TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF ALL CONCERNED, AND IT RESPONDS TO THE MAJOR PROBLEMS IN THE EXISTING SECURITY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

5. THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF OUR PROPOSAL ARE AS FOLLOWS:

6. FORCE REDUCTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN BELGIUM, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS AND POLAND. WE CONTINUE TO RESERVE OUR RIGHT TO RAISE AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME IN THE COURSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS THE QUESTION OF HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WILL BE INCLUDED IN FUTURE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES.

7. REDUCTIONS WILL BE MADE IN THE GROUND FORCES OF THE TWO SIDES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. GROUND FORCES ARE THE LARGEST AND MOST BASIC MILITARY ELEMENT IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THEY ARE OF DECISIVE POLITICAL AND MILITARY IMPORTANCE. WITHOUT THEM, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, TERRITORIES CAN NEITHER BE SEIZED NOR HELD, NEITHER INVADDED NOR DEFENDED. IT IS ONLY BY ADDRESSING GROUND FORCES THAT WE CAN DEAL WITH THE MAJOR DISPARITIES MAKING FOR INSTABILITIES IN THE EXISTING SITUATION. THUS, IT IS NOT ONLY LOGICAL BUT ALSO ESSENTIAL THAT WE FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES IF WE ARE TO ACCOMPLISH THE AGREED OBJECTIVES OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

8. THE OVERALL GOAL OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS A COMMON CEILING OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN CENTRAL EUROPE ON BOTH SIDES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITY. EACH SIDE SHOULD REDUCE ITS GROUND FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA TO THE SAME AGREED LOWER LEVEL OF MANPOWER. THIS IS WHAT WE MEAN BY A COMMON CEILING. TAKING APPROPRIATE ACCOUNT OF COMBAT CAPABILITY WILL INCLUDE ADDRESSING THE DISPARITY IN TANKS--A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR MAKING FOR

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INSTABILITY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION AND A SOURCE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US.

9. THE COMMON CEILING MIGHT BE ESTABLISHED AT A LOWER LEVEL OF APPROXIMATELY 700,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE. THIS WOULD REPRESENT A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION BELOW PRESENT MANPOWER LEVELS. HOWEVER NEITHER SIDE NEED FEAR THAT ITS SECURITY WOULD BE DIMINISHED. AT A LEVEL OF ABOUT

700,000 GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL ON EACH SIDE, THE DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES OF BOTH SIDES WOULD REMAIN SUFFICIENT TO PROVIDE FIRM ASSURANCE OF THE ABILITY TO DEFEND AGAINST AN ATTACK. MOREOVER, IN A NEW AND IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP OF NUMERICAL EQUALITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, STABILITY WOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED AND THIS WOULD BE A FAIR AND EQUITABLE RESULT.

10. WE PROPOSE THAT REDUCTION TO THE COMMON CEILING TAKE PLACE IN TWO SUCCESSIVE PHASES. THIS WOULD BE AN EFFECTIVE WAY TO PROCEED. IT WOULD BUILD INCREASED MUTUAL CONFIDENCE WHILE PRESERVING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY. REDUCTIONS WOULD IN EACH PHASE BE SUBSTANTIAL AND SIGNIFICANT, YET NOT SO LARGE AS TO BE UNMANAGEABLE OR INCALCULABLE IN THEIR EFFECTS.

11. THE FIRST PHASE WILL CONSIST OF REDUCTIONS OF US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA. THIS FOCUS TAKES ACCOUNT OF THE FACT THAT US AND SOVIET FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE ARE THE LARGEST AND MOST SIGNIFICANT FORCES FROM OUTSIDE THE AREA; REDUCTION OF THE FORCES BELONGING TO THE TWO MAJOR POWERS WOULD HAVE BOTH A MILITARY AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND SHOULD INSPIRE CONFIDENCE AMONG ALL THE PARTICIPANTS. FURTHERMORE, IT WOULD BE A PRACTICAL WAY TO PROCEED, AND, IN NEGOTIATIONS AS COMPLEX AS THESE, THE SIMPLEST.

12. IT IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE THAT REDUCTIONS BE SUCH AS TO CONTRIBUTE MEANINGFULLY TO AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE EXISTING SITUATION. IN ORDER TO ENHANCE STABILITY, FORCES MUST BE REDUCED IN A WAY WHICH ELIMINATES, REDUCES, OR OFFSETS THE MAJOR DISPARITIES MAKING FOR INSTABILITY IN THE EXISTING SITUATION: NAMELY, THE SIGNIFICANT DIS-

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PARITIES IN GROUND MANPOWER, CHARACTER OF FORCES AND GEOGRAPHY. IN OUR EARLIER PRESENTATIONS, WE EXPLAINED IN GENERAL TERMS HOW WE WOULD PROPOSE, IN A REDUCTION AGREEMENT, TO DEAL WITH THESE DISPARITIES. TODAY, I HAVE PROPOSED IN SPECIFIC TERMS HOW TO ELIMINATE, IN AN EQUITABLE WAY THAT MAINTAINS UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL, THE DISPARITY IN GROUND MANPOWER. I WILL NOW PRESENT OUR SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR DEALING WITH DISPARITIES IN THE CHARACTER OF FORCES AND IN GEOGRAPHY.

13. WE TAKE ACCOUNT OF WHAT WE PERCEIVE AS POTENTIALLY THREATENING COMBAT CAPABILITIES IN THE FIRST PHASE BY ADDRESSING THE DISPARITY IN TANKS, A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN THE PRESENT SITUATION AND A SOURCE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US. THIS TOO WOULD CONTRIBUTE IMPORTANTLY TO

ENHANCING STABILITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IT IS AN UNDENI-
ABLE FACT THAT THERE IS A LARGE IMBALANCE IN TANKS IN
THIS AREA. IN CONCRETE TERMS, WHILE NATO PARTICIPANTS
TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS MAINTAIN ONLY 6
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